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ABSTRACT

Three issues are discussed in the beginning of this paper: general trends of urban population growth among blacks since 1930, regional variations in growth and distribution from 1950 to 1970, and urban growth and metropolitanization. The remainder of the paper examines the growth of the black urban population by size of place from 1950 to 1970. Size is seen to be related to black growth and this view is held to be reasonable, as size, if anything else, makes a city visible especially to potential migrants. Most studies of urbanization do not focus on size of place but on that segment of population defined as either urban or metropolitan or they focus on urbanized area growth. After looking at overall growth by size of place for the South and the remainder of the nation, a major component of city growth, that of in-migration is discussed. Here the role of migration in the growth of cities by size is analyzed for the 1965-1970 portion of the 1970 decade. Migration analysis concentrates on patterns found in the South and non-South, and in addition, gives some attention to the selection of city size on the part of the city-bound migrant according to his region of origin. A summary section presents the overall trends found in the research, the research of others, and discusses implications for the future growth of black urban America. (Author/AM)

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URBAN GROWTH AND REDISTRIBUTION OF THE BLACK URBAN AMERICAN BY SIZE OF CITY, 1950 TO 1970*

by

CHARLES JACKSON TUCKER and JOHN DANIEL REID

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

October 1, 1974

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URBAN POPULATION GROWTH AND REDISTRIBUTION OF THE URBAN BLACK AMERICAN

Charles Jackson Tucker John Daniel Reid

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A subject which has received much attention from demographers and persons in other fields has been the transition from agrarian modes of existence and livlihood to life in large cities for the black American. The growth of black population in cities of the North and West, and more recently, the South, has been due mainly to the mass exodus of blacks from Southern farms during most of this century. There are, of course, few rural blacks outside of the South excepting those in institutions as Lee and Simmons have shown.[1] Reference to the black population outside the South is reference to the urban black.

There are mixed emotions where the urbanization of the black American is concerned. Census data and other surveys unequivocably point to higher incomes, higher levels of education, lower fertility, and lower incidences of poverty among urban blacks in contrast to the rural black population remaining behind in the South.[2] On the other hand, many critics, too numerous to cite, view the in-migration of blacks to cities

suspiciously, as a force which is pushing more affluent whites to suburbs, resulting in deterioration of land values, creating slums and ghettos, and foremost in the minds of many politicians, contributed to skyrocketing rates of crime, delinquency, vice, and swelling welfare roles. Furthermore, it seems that the larger the city happens to be, the greater these alleged problems appear.

Interestingly enough, the original conference begun in 1896 and published in Atlanta University Publications, Numbers 1 through 11, were primarily directed toward the investigation of city problems with reference to the Negro, scarcely one year before DuBois' monumental study of the Philadelphia Negro. These conferences represented the first efforts to explore distinct sociological undertakings altogether in this country. As Atlanta University President, Horace Bumstead, remarked in his opening address to the first conference, "This conference has its origin in several striking facts. One of these is the large proportion of the Negro population of the land now found to be living in cities,...We must remember that the condition and circumstances of Negroes living in cities differ widely from those of the plantation Negroes...Very little attention, too, has yet been given to the specific problems arising out of the changed conditions under which this large proportion of Negro population is now sharing the city life of their white brethern...the problems connected with his (the Negro's) life in the cities and larger towns need even more careful study and thorough treatment."[3]

At the time of his address only about 16 percent of America's black population was urban. By 1970 however, four out of every five blacks in the country were living in urban territory and most of these in large cities. Many of the problems addressed by the first conference are still with us and this paper will present some of the results of the past few years' investigation into the urbanization of the American black conducted through W.E.B. DuBois Institute at Atlanta University and the Institute of Behavioral Research, University of Georgia. To our knowledge, most of the data presented herein have not been presented or published elsewhere.

GENERAL TRENDS OF URBAN POPULATION GROWTH AMONG BLACKS SINCE 1930

Figures 1a, 1b, and 1c present data on the growth of the non-white urban population, the percent of urban population which was non-white, and the percentage of all non-whites who were urban from 1930 to 1970.

From the figures, it is clear that non-white urban growth has been practically twice as great as corresponding white growth in every decade since 1930.[4] As a result, there is an increasingly greater proportion of the total urban population which is black. In 1930, less than eight percent of the United States urban population consisted of blacks; by 1970 almost one in seven of all urbanites were black. As for the urbanization of the black American, in 1930 scarcely two in five blacks were urban but by 1970 over four in five were urban. The redistribution from rural to urban has

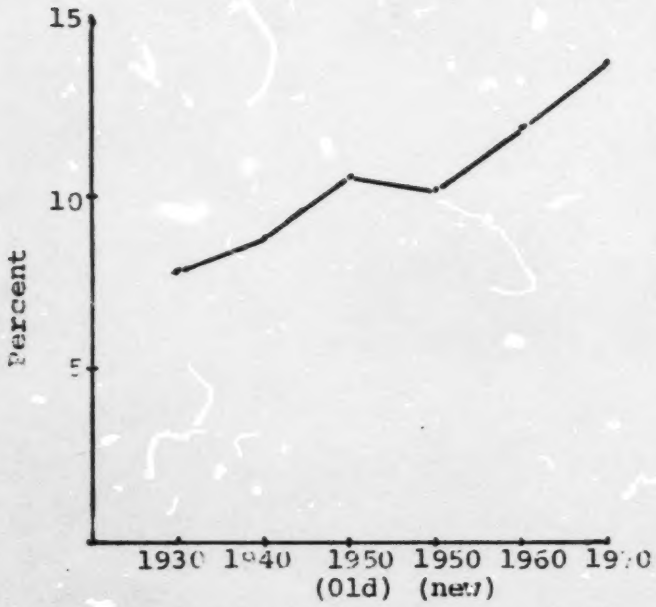

Figure 1a: Percent of Urban Population which is Non-white.

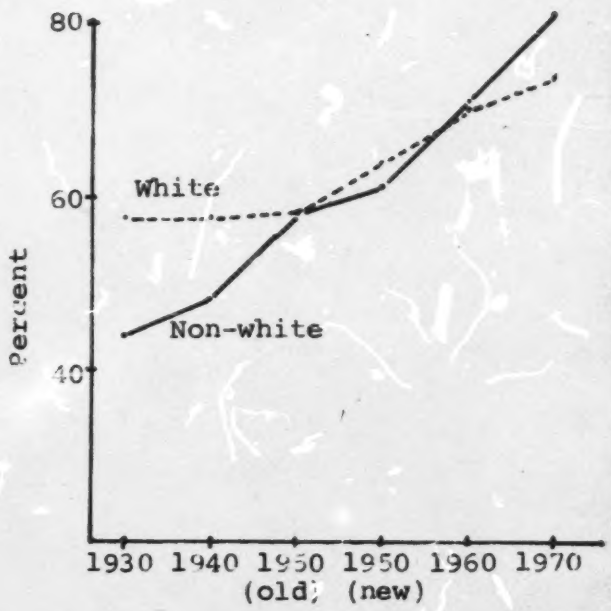

Figure 1b: Non-white and white Urban Population as Percent of All Whites and Non-whites.

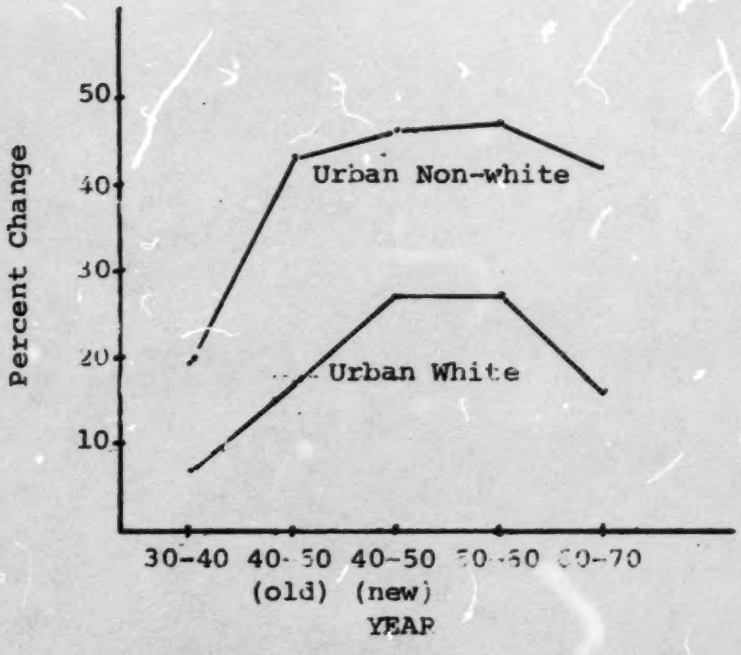

Figure 1C: Growth of the Non-white and White Urban Population.

occurred for both blacks and whites alike, but it has been much more rapid for blacks.

In 1950, the U.S. Bureau of the Census initiated major changes in definition of the urban population. With the realization that an increasing number of urban residents actually live beyond, but generally adjacent to, the legal boundaries of larger cities and in places which are unincorporated, the definition was altered to include the "fringe" population of large cities having 50,000 or more inhabitants and the population of unincorporated places having 2,500 citizens or more was defined as urban.[5]

The figures show that this change in definition had more effect in altering the rural-urban distribution of whites than blacks. Whereas under the old definition of urban, both blacks and whites were approximately 60 percent urban in 1950, under the new definition, a smaller percentage of whites were urban than were blacks. Also, under the new definition, a smaller percentage of the urban population consisted of blacks. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that in 1950 most urban blacks were found within legal boundaries of cities and not in the rapidly expanding fringe and unincorporated places. Fringe and suburban growth was primarily a white phenomenon following World War II.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION, 1950 TO 1970

Considerable regional variation in the rural-urban distribution of blacks and their contribution to the total urban population is found for 1950, 1960,and 1970 (Figure 2a and 2b). In the North (Northeast and North Central census regions), better than 97 percent of all blacks were urban in 1970, yet they barely constituted one in ten of all urban dwellers. Ninety-seven percent of blacks in the West are also urban but here, nevertheless, they make up less than six percent of the West's urban population. In both the North and the West, the proportion of blacks who are urban has increased over the twenty years. Their share of the urban population has increased as well; yet, for that part of the country outside the South they still represent a small minority, making up less than ten percent of the total urban population in 1970.

The South still presents a striking contrast with the North and West. Although the region continues to have 53 percent of the blacks found in the United States, only 44 percent of black urbanites are to be found in the South. In 1950 more than one-half of their numbers were found in the South. In 1950 more than one-half of their numbers were found in the region. Blacks still constitute one-fifth of the South's city residents, but this proportion has decreased over the twenty years. In 1950, less than one-half of all blacks in the South were to be found in the region's cities, but today,

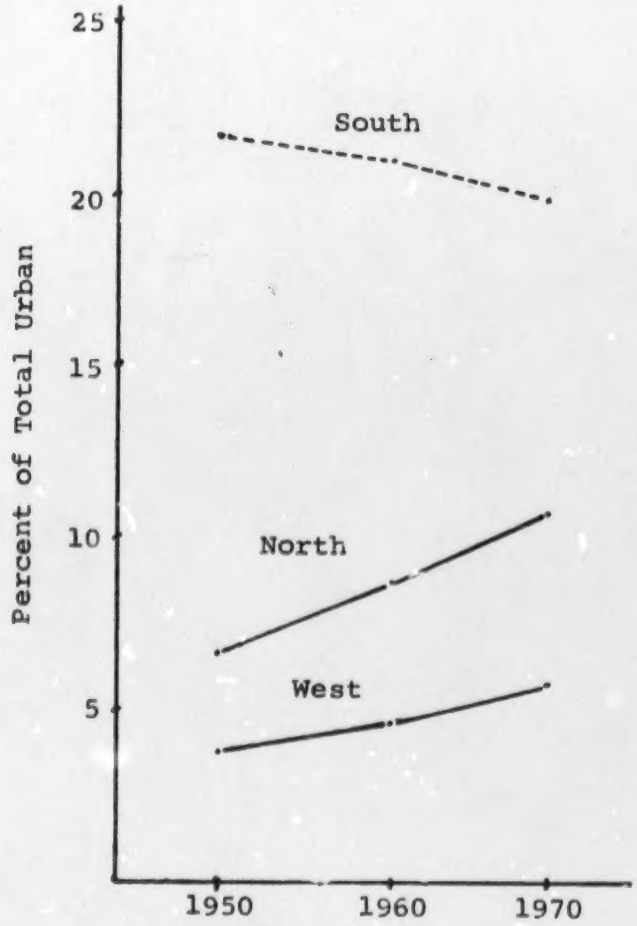

Figure 2a: Black Urban Population As Percent of Total Urban

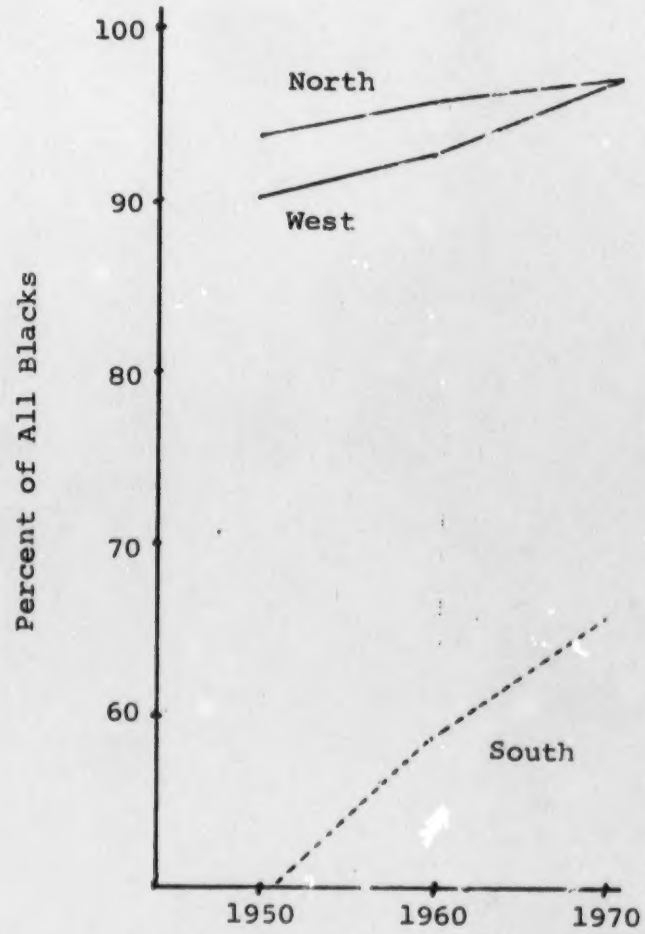

Figure 2b: Black Urban Population As Percent of All Blacks

two out of three Southern blacks are urban. This rapid shift from rural to urban has not been due solely to rapid growth of the South's black city residents, for the region has actually shown lower rates of black urban growth than the remainder of the nation in both decades. It has been due to very rapid declines in the number of rural blacks during the period but not to cities in the South. From 5.3 million rural blacks in the region in 1950, there were only 3.9 million to be found in 1970, a decline of 27 percent. Most of the rural blacks who remain in the South are non-farm residents and pursue non-farming occupations. According to our estimates, at least two million blacks who were under age 30 in 1950 had left rural areas for cities in 1970.[6] Most of these out-migrants were born on farms.

URBAN GROWTH AND METROPOLITANIZATION

By census criteria the urban population is composed of those persons living in places having 2,500 inhabitants or more and in the densly settled urban "fringe" surrounding large cities. In 1970 there were more than 7,000 urban centers in the continental United States and 55 million Americans lived in the fringe of the nation's large cities. Of all urbanites, nine out of ten lived in places having in excess of 2,500 persons. Of these 6,400 places, more than one-half were to be found in the 243 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) as defined in 1970.[7] It was in these places that

practically all urban growth took place in the nineteen-sixties. While the urban metropolitan population was increasing by practically 24 percent between 1960 and 1970, those urbanites in non-metropolitan areas increased their numbers by barely two percent. Of the increase of 24 million urban persons between 1960 and 1970, 97 percent was to be found within SMSA's.

For both blacks and whites alike, the greatest percentage increases in urban population between 1960 and 1970 occurred in the metroploitan urban population outside of central cities. This, by and large, represents suburban growth. However, fewer than one in five urban metropolitan blacks were to be found in suburban places in 1970. For whites, 45 percent were found in suburbs in 1960 and 53 percent in 1970.

Altogether, the study of urban growth of the American black population must focus on metropolitan growth and especially on growth in large cities, which have increasing concentrations of blacks. Blacks now represent one-fourth of all central city residents. Although black concentration is occurring to some degree in suburban places, only one in twenty suburbanites are black. Even so, we cannot be sure of whether the suburban black population is concentrating exclusively in black suburbs or is becoming intergrated with the white suburban population. As whites continue to "flee" central cities and as black population continues to expand in them, city populations are becoming blacker. Over 56 percent of all black Americans

now live in SMSA central cities; in 1960, only 50 percent. For whites, however, only 28 percent live in these large places and this actually represents a smaller proportion than the 30 percent found in 1960.

The study of population growth and distribution of the black American is increasingly the study of growth in large cities and their satellites.

This is not to say that analysis of rural population problems is unimportant, for as others at this conference will have pointed out, population losses to rural and non-metropolitan areas have generated many problems of their own, especially for the elderly, the infirm, and generally the poor who are faced with increasing poverty, unemployment, and declinging availability of many necessary services. The study of urbanization and urban population growth is both logically and empirically related to rural de-population.

SIZE OF PLACE

There is little doubt that sociological and demographic profiles of Tuscaloosa, Alabama (1970 population - 65,773) differ in many respects from New York City (1970 population - 7,894,862). Yet, by census criteria, both of these places are central cities of SMSA's. In many instances, characteristics of particular SMSA cities and rings are summed to give an overall picture of the metropolitan community---for central cities and suburbs alike. However,

insofar as four in five urban metropolitan blacks are located in central cities, their suburban contribution adds little to metropolitan totals. In fact, they may even distort the total urban scene. This becomes especially true when regional variations in suburban settlements are considered as well as the effect of central city composition on the composition of suburbs.

Many years ago, Otis Dudley Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, utilizing data from the 1950 census of population, demonstrated that size of place has important effects on marriage patterns, fertility, income, education and other socioeconomic characteristics of the population.[8] Along many of these dimensions, size of place itself may serve to delineate the rural-urban continuum.[9] To our knowledge, no recent study has shown the effects of size of place on the composition of the black urban population or even studied the growth of black population by size of place.

Size appears to be related to black growth and this assumption is reasonable because size, if anything else, makes a city visible, especially to potential migrants. Cities have traditionally increased their black population to large extents through heavy inmigration of blacks, particularly those from the rural South.

The purpose of the remainder of this paper is to examine the growth of the black urban population by size of place from 1950 to 1970. Most studies of urbanization do not focus on size of place but on that segment of population defined as either urban or,

metropolitan, or they focus on Urbanized Area Growth.[10] After looking at overall growth by size of place for the South and the remainder of the nation and presenting an overall picture of redistribution trends, we turn our attention to a major component of city growth, in-migration. Using the question on residence five years previous asked or respondents in the fifteen percent census sample of 1970, the role of migration in the growth of cities by size is analyzed for the 1965-1970 portion of the 1970 decade. Migration analysis concentrates on patterns found in the South and non-South and, in addition, gives some attention to the selection of city size on the part of the city-bound migrant according to his region of origin.

A summary section presents the overall trends found in our research, the research of others, and discusses implications for the future growth of black urban America.

POPULATION GROWTH BY SIZE OF PLACE

A. 1950 - 1960

Following World War 11 and the Korean conflict, America's population increased during the nineteen-fifties to an extent not seen since the turn of the century. The total population increased by 28 million persons (greater than the population of the entire country in 1850), and all of the increase was urban. By the mid nineteen-

fifties, fertility among blacks and whites reached the highest level in thirty years. It was during the fifties that the black exodus from the rural South gained its greatest momentum for it was then that the region's subsistence agrarian economy underwent the most extensive mechanization in the South's history. As blacks populated the non-South's urban areas and as whites intensively moved suburbanward, cities and metropolitan areas grew extensively.

In 1950 there were but 168 metropolitan areas; by 1960, 212. In 1950 there were 4,274 urban places having in excess of 2,500 inhabitants; by 1960, 5,445. In general, the nineteen-fifties may represent the period of greatest metropolitan and urban expansion in this country's history. Such massive growth was accompanied with the redistribution of blacks to central cities and whites to suburbs.

To examine the growth of population in the urban places of 1950, a 1950 file of all these places was created from the census of population in 1950. Utilizing census materials, the Negro population and the total population for each place was recorded as of 1950. Then, black and total population for each place was obtained for 1960 for each place in the file. Places defined as urban in 1960 but not in 1950 were similarly obtained to create a 1960 file which was traced to 1970. Each place was then classified by:

1. Metropolitan status..A place was designated as metropolitan if it was found in a metropolitan county in 1950, 1960 or 1970.

2. Census region..South, Northeast, North Central, or West.

3. Size of Place..2,500-5,000; 5,000-10,000; 10,000-25,000; 25,000-50,000; 50,000-100,000; 100,000-250,000; 250,000-500,000; 500,000-1,000,000; 1,000,000 +.[11]

In 1950, only those places having in excess of 50,000 persons had a substancial number of blacks, and of the urban metropolitan population of blacks, better than one in four lived in one of the five cities having in excess of one million persons -- New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angelas, and Detroit. In fact, more than one in five of all black urban Americans lived in these cities. Metropolitan suburbs (in general, those places having less than 50,000 persons and other urban territory outside of large cities) contained only 11 percent of the urban black population and only made up one million persons. Suburbs were almost completely white, the black population making up less than five percent of their racial composition.

In the South, large cities having over 50,000 inhabitants were approximately one-fourth black in 1950. The largest cities in the South had the following proportions of blacks; Washington, 35.0 percent black; New Orleans, 31.9 percent; Baltimore, 23.7 percent; and Houston, 20.9 percent. Some smaller cities had even higher proportions. Metropolitan suburbs had lower proportions of blacks than did the

South's large cities or non-metropolitan urban places. Altogether, the urban population of the South was slightly greater than 23 percent black.

Outside the South almost 50 percent of the urban black population was found in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and Detroit. Yet, blacks only constituted 12 percent of these cities' populations. Nineteen out of every twenty urban blacks outside the South were in metropolitan areas, yet, few were in metropolitan suburbs. Suburbs were almost completely white and only 7.5 percent of the urban black population was found in metropolitan places having fewer than 50,000 inhabitants. Furthermore, as size of place decreased a smaller proportion of all blacks were to be found and the ratio of blacks to whites decreased. This was true in both the South and non-South.

Between 1950 and 1960 the black population found in the 4,300 urban places of 1950 outside the South grew by 2.5 million persons (58 percent). Surprisingly, however, the greatest percentage increases were not in the very largest or smallest places, but in cities having between 100,000 and 500,000 persons. Only the smallest suburban places grew to any extent, more than doubling their black population. For non-metropolitan places, the larger the place, the greater the growth. The black population in non-metroplitan places having 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants in 1950 grew almost as rapidly as cities having better than one-million persons, yet they contain few blacks.

For the South, growth was twice as great for urban metroplitan than for non-metropolitan population. Although no real discernable growth patterns were revealed in our analysis, both large cities and suburbs grew at rates in excess of those found for smaller cities of 50,000 to 250,000 persons.

In the non-South, the proportion of city residents who were black increased for every size of place category by 1960. Almost 11 percent of city residents outside the South were black in contrast to 1950 when only 9 percent were black. By size of city, however, for places having one million or more inhabitants, practically one in five residents were black in 1960; for places of 50,000 to 100,000, fewer than one in twenty.

Yet, even with heavy suburban growth, a larger proportion of blacks were found in cities in 1960 than in 1950. While 84 percent of urban blacks outside the South lived in large cities in 1950, their percentage had increased to practically 86 percent by 1960. Proportionate increases were found for all city sizes under 1,000,000 persons and of the five cities having in excess of one million, the decline in proportion was negligible. The redistribution altered the proportion of blacks in smaller cities, 50,000 to 500,000, significantly, but the percentage of blacks in metropolitan suburbs and non-metropolitan places declined from 16 to 14 percent by 1960.

In the non-South, the increased concentration of blacks in large cities was due solely to the redistribution of urban blacks

to the larger cities. Undoubtedly, it was also caused by massive out-migration of whites to the suburbs.

For the South, the proportion of city residents who were black increased insignificantly to 25 percent by 1960 and this was primarily due to increases only in the largest cities. Urban blacks in the South underwent more redistribution than other regions, and this was from smaller to larger cities. It was only through the influx of whites to places having in excess of 250,000 persons that kept down the proportion of city residents who were black. The percentage of urban blacks outside of cities declined over the decade from 45 to 41 percent.

B. 1960 to 1970

The nineteen-sixties represented a general period of economic prosperity, extensive civil rights and welfare legislation, declining fertility, and a let-up in metropolitan expansion. By 1970 the country's population had increased by only 13 percent in contrast to 18 percent in the nineteen-fifties. This was true for both blacks and whites alike. Urban growth declined as well for both the South and non-South, especially in the large cities.

During the nineteen-sixties, the 1960 cities of the South increased their black populations by 23 percent and the large cities had growth rates in excess of the smaller.

With the exception of the five largest cities in the non-South, black urban growth outside the South was actually greatest in smaller cities and lowest in those having from 500,000 to 1,000,000 persons.

The cities of Pittsburg, Cincinatti, St. Louis, and Cleaveland had much lower rates of black urban growth than other cities of their size but this was true for their white populations as well.

In 1970, most of the black urban population of the non-South was concentrated in cities of 500,000 persons or more, and there was little change in their distribution over 1960 and 1950. The slight decrease in the proportion of all urban blacks in these large cities was met by slight increases in our "other urban" segment. As was true for the nineteen-fifties, the percent of urban population which was black increased for the non-South for all city sizes, the larger the city, the greater the increase. By 1970, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Detroit was 25 percent black. Detroit led the list with 44 percent black and New York was lowest with 21 percent of its population consisting of blacks.

The South, however, shows remarkable increases in the percentage of large city residents who were black. In 1950, 25 percent of the population in cities having more than 500,000 persons were black; by 1970, 35 percent. In 1970, Washington was 71 percent black; Atlanta, 51 percent; Baltimore, 46 percent; and New Orleans, 45 percent. However, cities having fewer than one-half million persons have shown decreases from 23 percent to 17 percent in 1970.

The South shows that a much larger share of the black urban population is concentrating in cities of 500,000 or more, and a smaller proportion of black urbanites is now found in smaller cities throughout the region.

C. Summary of Growth by Size of Place

The major demographic component of urbanization is the redistribution of population from small villages, hamlets, and small towns and cities. For the black man, this has meant movement from the rural South to the legal confines of cities, both in the South and the remainder of the country.

For whites, redistribution results in their movement from cities to the urban fringe and metropolitan suburbs. Migration of blacks into cities and out-migration of whites has resulted in many large cities in the United States becoming increasingly black, this being more true for the non-South than the South. As blacks have moved from the South while whites have been moving in since 1950, blacks constitute a slightly smaller proportion of the urban population now than before and in the non-South, a slightly higher proportion.

Although the black population of the South has undergone extensive rural-urban redistribution over twenty years, the appearance of their urbanization may be an artifact of another process rather than urbanization per se, viz., heavy rural losses to other regions rather than rural to urban migration within the region. In neither decade did the South's black urban population exceed rates of national black urban growth and by size of place, only the largest cities grew to any extent. In fact, in both decades, growth was directly related to city size, the largest cities showing the greatest percentage increases. When viewed in connection with white differential growth

by size of place, the redistribution patterns for the South are those presented in Figures 3 and 4. In Figure 3, it is evident that only the largest cities of the region experienced an increase in the percentage of city residents who were black. Mid-sized cities (100,000 to 500,000 persons) had about the same percentage of blacks in 1970 as they did in 1950. Places of 50,000 to 100,000 persons sharply declined.

Figure 4 shows, however, that the black urban population of the South was redistributed by size of place from 1950 to 1970. By 1970, a greater percentage of urban blacks was found in the largest cities of the region than in 1950. Smaller percentages were found in the smallest cities and "other urban" segment. Losses to the other urban portion was primarily due to declines of blacks in non-metropolitan urban places.

The non-South's cities, as receivers of Southern migrants, have witnessed sharp increases in the percentage of city residents who are black (Figure 5). Furthermore, there is practically a direct relationship between increases in the percentage of city residents who were black and the size of the city--the same as that found in the South. Yet, the explanation for the similarity is quite different. In the South, the increase in proportion could be attributable, at least in part, to higher growth rates of the black population in large as against small cities. In the non-South, in both decades, black growth was inversly related to size of place,

smaller cities increasing their number of blacks at greater rates than larger cities. This explanation resides almost totally in white population trends by city size. By size of place in the non-South, the white population grew by the following rates:

City Size	Percent Change 1950-1960	1960-1970
1,000,000 +	-7.1	-9.0
500,000 to 1,000,000	-12.1	-12.9
250,000 to 500,000	6.4	3.6
100,000 to 250,000	3.1	4.0
50,000 to 100,000	11.2	6.5

Cities having more than one-half million inhabitants outside the South lost large numbers of whites over both decades. Gains much below those for blacks were found even for the smallest cities. Large increases in the percentage of black city residents for the largest cities was primarily due to white losses.

Again, in contrast with the South, there has been very little redistribution of the urban black by city size over the period (Figure 6). There has been a slight tendancy for urban blacks to be found more frequently in cities having fewer than one-quarter million persons and less frequently in cities of one million or more. The percentage of black urban residents in non-metropolitan places and metropolitan suburbs was virtually identical in 1950 and 1970. Altogether, the distribution of the urban black by size of place has

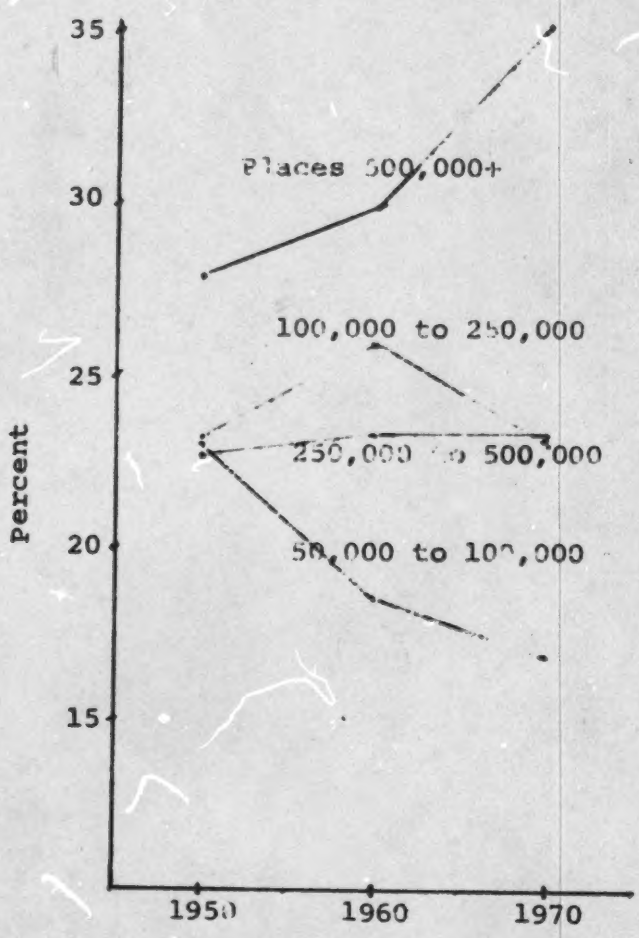

Figure 3: Percent of City Population Which is Black. South

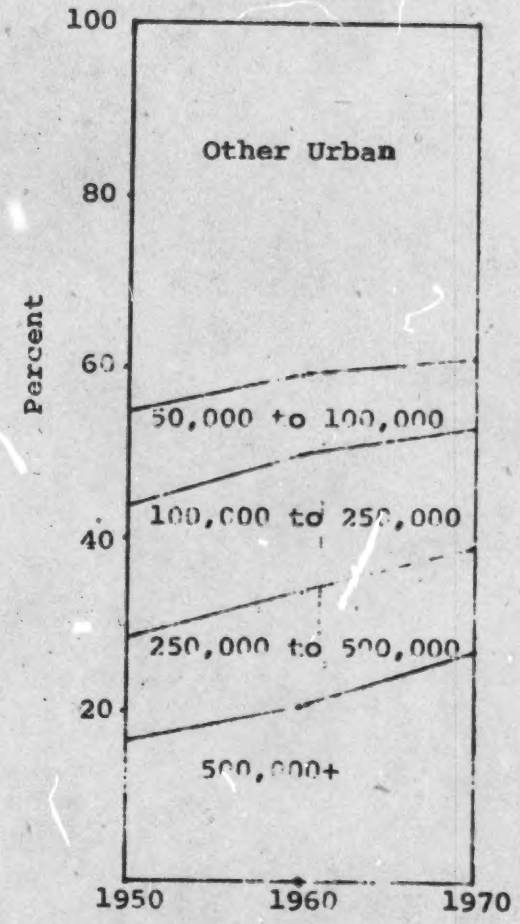

Figure 4: Percentage Distribution of Urban Blacks by Size of Place. South

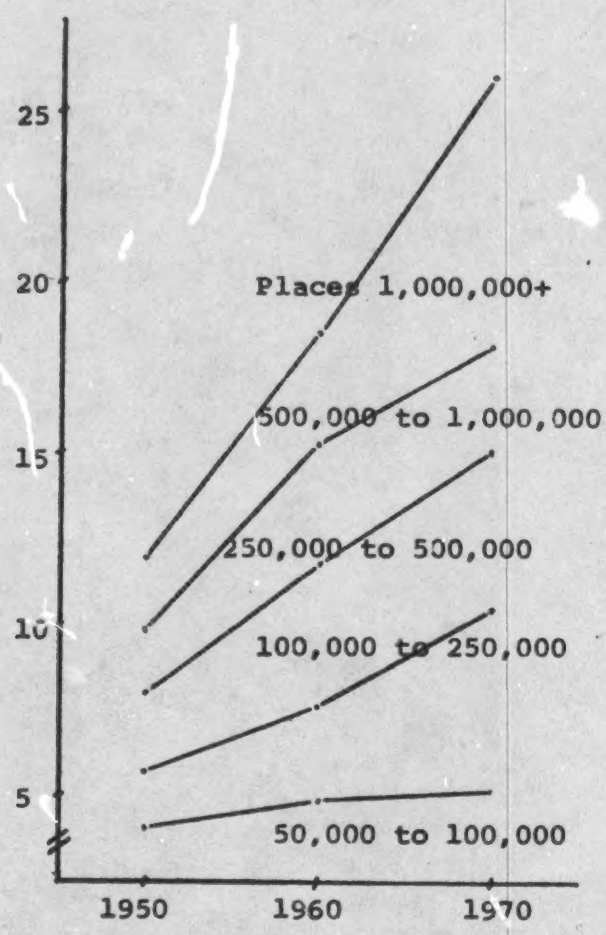

Figure 5: Percent of City Population Which is Black. Non-South

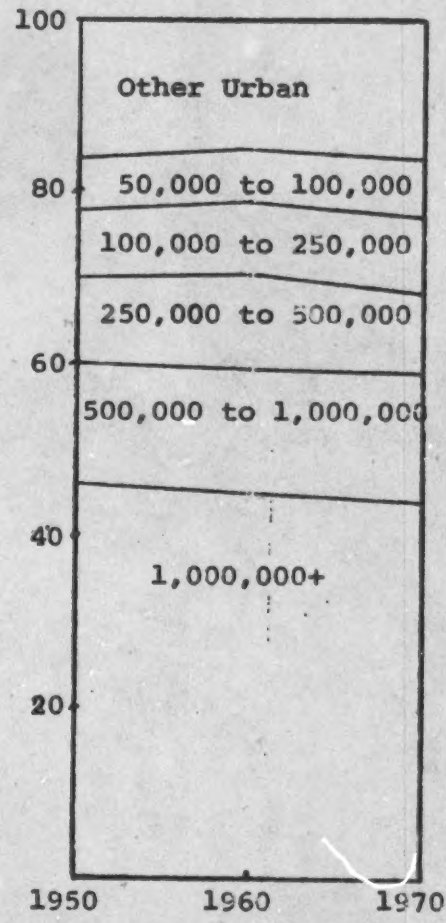

Figure 6: Percentage Distribution of Urban Blacks by Size of Place. Non-South

remained unchanged over the twenty years and no definite trends can be seen in this chart.

For the United States, in both the South and non-South, one pattern stood out throughout our analysis although there are distinctly different explanations for this pattern in the South and the remainder of the country. As city size increases, the percentage of city population which is black increases as well. Furthermore, these percentage differences by size of place were greater in 1970 than in 1950. Not only is there greater variability by size of place, but greater variability within any specific size category over the period.

Using the coefficient of variation [12] as a measure of variation within size of place category, in both 1950 and 1970 the South shows less variation in the percentage of city population which is black than the non-South for every size of place. In both the South and non-South for each census period, as size of place decreases, variation in percent of city population which was black increases. In the South, the amount of variability has increased for all city sizes and in the non-South it increased mainly for those places having fewer than one-half million persons. Change in variation is more pronounced for the South.

How is this material to be interpreted, especially changes in variation over the twenty years? In our opinion, it means that in both the South and non-South, some cities are becoming increasingly black while others are becoming increasingly white. This is more true for the smaller than the larger places in both regions. Within

any size of place category, a larger percentage of blacks is being found in a smaller percentage of places in that size category. As migration flowed from the South to North and West, small cities in the South declined in percentage of city residents who were black, but not all cities! This could be especially true for those cities which have grown over the twenty years to have 50,000 persons or more. Migration streams to other parts of the country were, of course, urban directed, but not to all cities outside the South. That polarization is occurring outside the South can be seen in Figure 7 for cities of 50,000 to 100,000 in population. In 1950 and 1970, the ogive distribution of cities by percentage black is strongly skewed to the right. In 1970 the skew is stronger. A greater percentage of these cities had fewer than five percent black and more than seven percent black in 1970 than in 1950. Thus, while these cities as a group witnessed an increase in the percentage of city population which was black, this was due to increases in a minority of places. In 1970 there was actually a much larger percentage of places having fewer than one percent black and the median percentage of blacks declined. Therefore, the increase in percent of city residents who were black may be more illusory than real--*especially for the smaller cities.* In fact, 291,000 or two out of five blacks living in cities of 50,000 to 100,000 in 1970 lived in only 9 of these places. This is less than five percent of all places of this size outside the South. These same two out of five however, lived in 10 places in 1950, but in that year this was 11 percent of places.

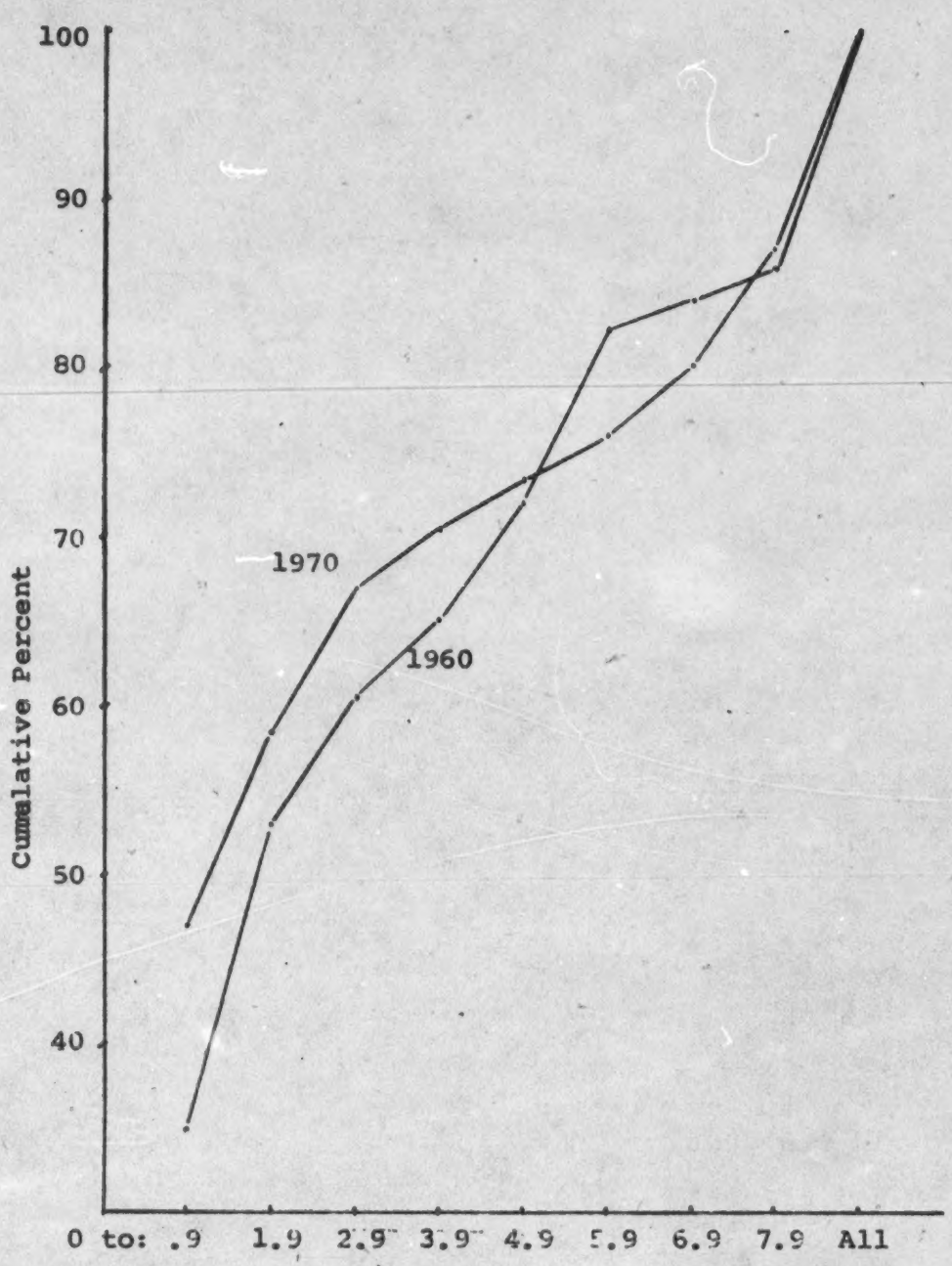

Figure 7: Cumulative percentage Frequency of All Cities 50,000 to 100,000, by Percent of Population Which is Black. Non-South

MIGRATION TO CITIES

General: State of Birth, 1940-1970

Population grows through reproduction and migration and because of generally lower rates of natural increase in cities, migration accounts for a large proportion of change in city population.

There is little question but that the tremendous growth of the black population in cities of the North and West has been due to the vast influx of Southern born blacks, probably most of whom were born in rural areas. As the black population of the North and West is mainly urban, only a few Southern migrants must have gone to rural areas in the non-South. Figure 8 shows that even in 1950, over one half of Northern and Western blacks had been in fact, born in the South. As Howard Odum remarked, and as Rupert Vance often reiterated, the South was truly the "seedbed" of the nation, this being especially true for blacks prior to World War 11.[13] Altogether in 1940, 87 percent of the nation's black population had been born in the South although only 76 percent lived there. However, by 1970, the overall picture had dramatically changed. Outside the South, according to Figure 8, less than one-third of the black population had been born in the South. Of the nation's blacks in 1970, only 67 percent could claim Southern birth origin, a drastic decrease since immediately before the World War 11 level of 87 percent.

On the other hand, the South represents a different situation than the remainder of the nation. This is true, since by all estimates

there is little migration from the North and West into the South, except for return migrants and this would invariably be to cities. In 1940, less than one percent of non-white Southern blacks had been born outside the region and although this proportion increases over thirty years, by 1970, it was still less than two percent. The Southern black population continues to remain of Southern birth origin. This is true for the region's urban population as well. Scarcely two percent of black urbanites in the South in 1970 had been born in the North and West.

Since 1940, the percent of blacks born in the South but living outside the South increased to 26 percent in 1960 and where it appears to have reached a maximum (Figure 9). There is little movement, however, into the region by those who were born outside the South, and between 1950 and 1970, even this small proportion has declined to three percent. Over a lifetime, those blacks who enter the South from other regions were undoubtedly born in the South originally. The South had little attraction for the non-Southern born over the 30 years.

Residence 5 Years Previous

Region of birth and region of residence data, of course, give an overall picture of lifetime redistribution patterns. Since movement from one region to another may occur several times between birth and the time of the census, lifetime migration provides extremely

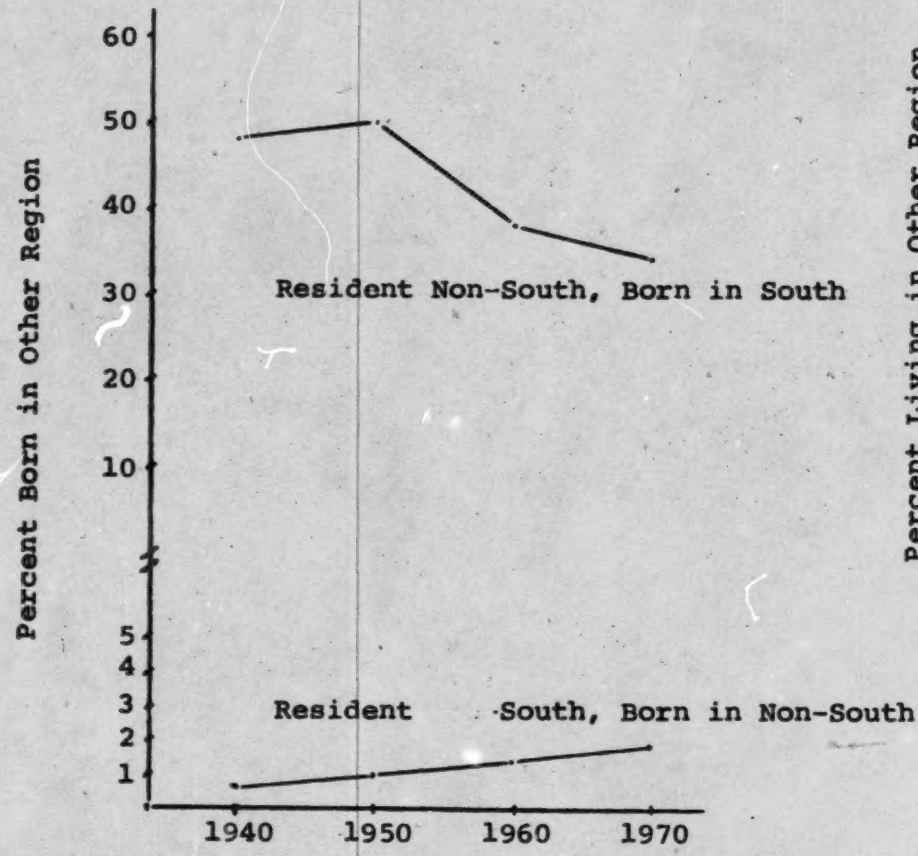

Figure 8: Percent of Southern and Non-Southern Non-White Population Born in Other Region.*

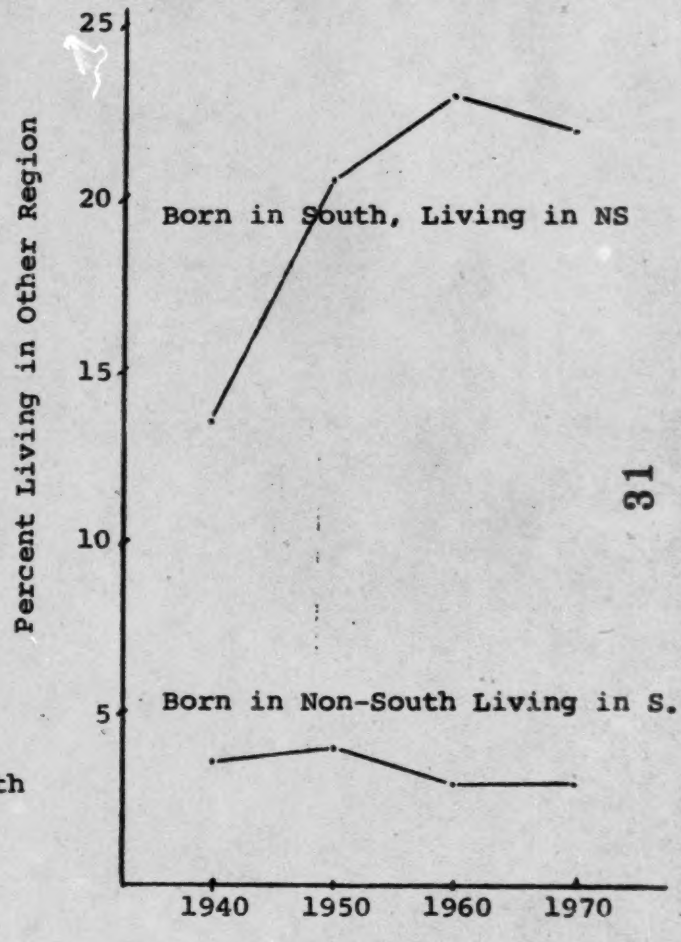

Figure 9: Percent of Non-Whites Born in South and Non-South Who are Living in the other Region.*

*Black in 1970

conservative estimates of population mobility.

Residence five years previous has been obtained in both the 1960 census (25 percent sample) and the 1970 census (15 percent sample) and provides a good estimate of more recent migrating patterns.

The data is limited, of course, in that it can show the degree of in-migration into an area. That is, it focuses on the destination of the migrants. Only regions of origin and interstate and intrastate movement, can be obtained for those destined for certain census summary categories. Origin designations suffer from lack of specifity and therefore out-migration can only be obtained for states and regions, not rural or urban.

Of 16,365,169 urban blacks five years or older in 1970, 49 percent had changed residence within five years (the mobile population). If migrants are defined as those who cross county boundaries when moving, then about ten percent of the 1970 black urban population five years old and over had migrated between 1965 and 1970, about 1.6 million persons. Of these migrants, almost one million crossed state lines in moving (60 percent) and of the interstate migrants to urban places, 14 percent came from states in the Northeast; 17 percent from states in the Northcentral; 8 percent from states in the West; and fully 61 percent from Southern states. In terms of an estimated population of regions in 1965 (straight line), urban destined interstate migrants made up the following percentages

of 1965 population in each region:

West:	5.62 percent
South:	5.08 percent
North Central:	4.02 percent
Northeast:	3.70 percent

Although a greater percentage of the West's 1965 population was destined to be interstate migrants to urban places between 1965 and 1970, the South stands remarkably high relative to the Northern regions. Altogether, the South sent 572,106 of the region's estimated 1965 black population to urban places in other states by 1970, some in the South and others outside the region. The remainder of the United States contributed 487,093 urban directed migrants, less than one-half of the total.

Migration to Places of 50,000 or More Persons

Of all urban directed migrants, the majority were destined to our file of 1970 cities rather than the smaller urban places. Over one million (two-thirds) found their way to cities and they made up nine percent of the city population five years or older in 1970.

Most black urban directed migrants came from different states than that of the city to which they moved (interstate migrants) and of these, over 400,000 were living in the South in 1965. Fully 63 percent of interstate urban-directed migrants were of Southern origin.

By size of place, 35 percent of all urban directed migrants went to New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit and

and Houston. Of these, better than one-half were interstate migrants and 35 percent were of interstate Southern origin.

As city size decreases, a smaller proportion of the urban-directed migrants are found and this is also true for interstate urban-directed migrants (both of Southern and non-Southern origin). No more than one in eight urban-directed migrants went to the 240 places having from 50,000 to 100,000 persons.

Although from the perspective of the migrant, large cities are more attractive and there are fewer of these cities, a greater percentage of smaller cities' black population were in-migrant between 1965 and 1970 than were the population of larger places. This is true since there are few blacks in smaller places, both numerically (only about 10 percent of all city blacks aged 5 years and older are to be found in these places) and proportionately. The highest rate of in-migration occurred to the urban population residing in urban places having fewer than 50,000 persons or to unincorporated territriy, and possibly for reasons similiar to those offered for smaller places altogether. We shall return to these reasons presently.

Black Migration to Non-Southern Cities

Of the 702,000 black in-migrants to non-Southern cities, almost one-half went to New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, and

Philadelphia (Figure 10). Practically 200,000 went to New York City alone. Fifteen percent or less went to each of the other size categories although 98 percent of the cities are smaller than 1,000,000 persons.

The relationship between cumulative in-migration and cumulative percent of cities by city size can be seen in the ogive of Figure 11. At the point of widest divergence between the two curves, it can be seen that three-quarters of all urban-destined black migrants to non-Southern cities went to cities of 250,000 persons or more. These cities represent only one-eighth of all cities in the non-South. To the 257 cities remaining, only 173,000 blacks entered as in-migrants between 1965 and 1970, to be enumerated in 1970, fewer than went to New York City alone and there remained.

Larger cities, however, have lower rates of in-migration than do the smaller (Figure 12) and there is an inverse relationship between size of place and in-migration rates. This is because larger cities in the non-South have many more blacks, both numerically and proportionately, than smaller places. As a result, however, the black population of smaller places is growing more rapidly than that in larger cities, although migratory selection by place may be sharper for smaller cities.

Migrants to non-Southern cities may be intrastate, moving to the city from within the same state; interstate, moving into the city from another state; or interregional, moving into non-Southern

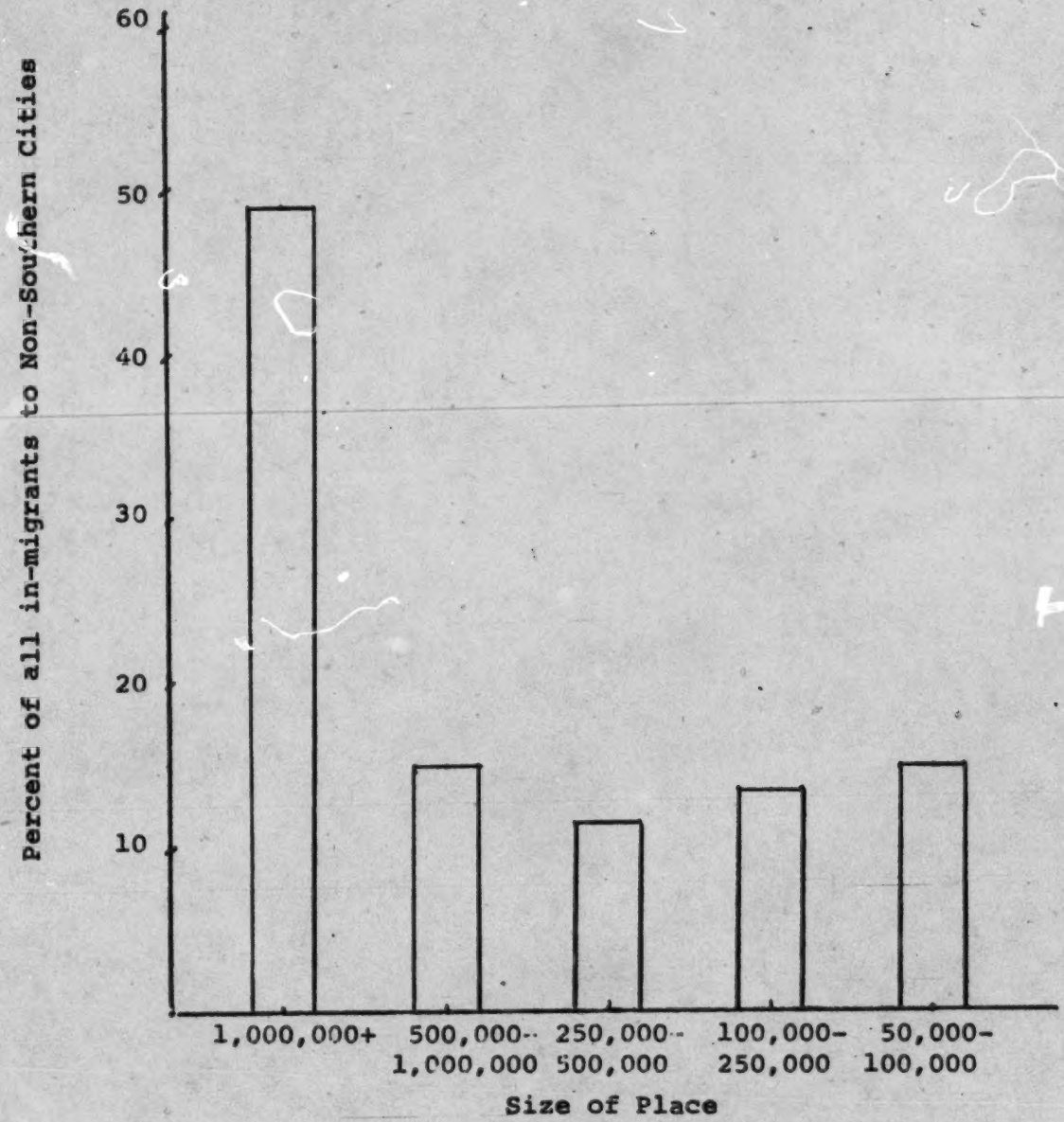

Figure 10: Black Migrants to Non Southern Cities by Size of Place of Destination. 1965-1970. (N = 702,286)

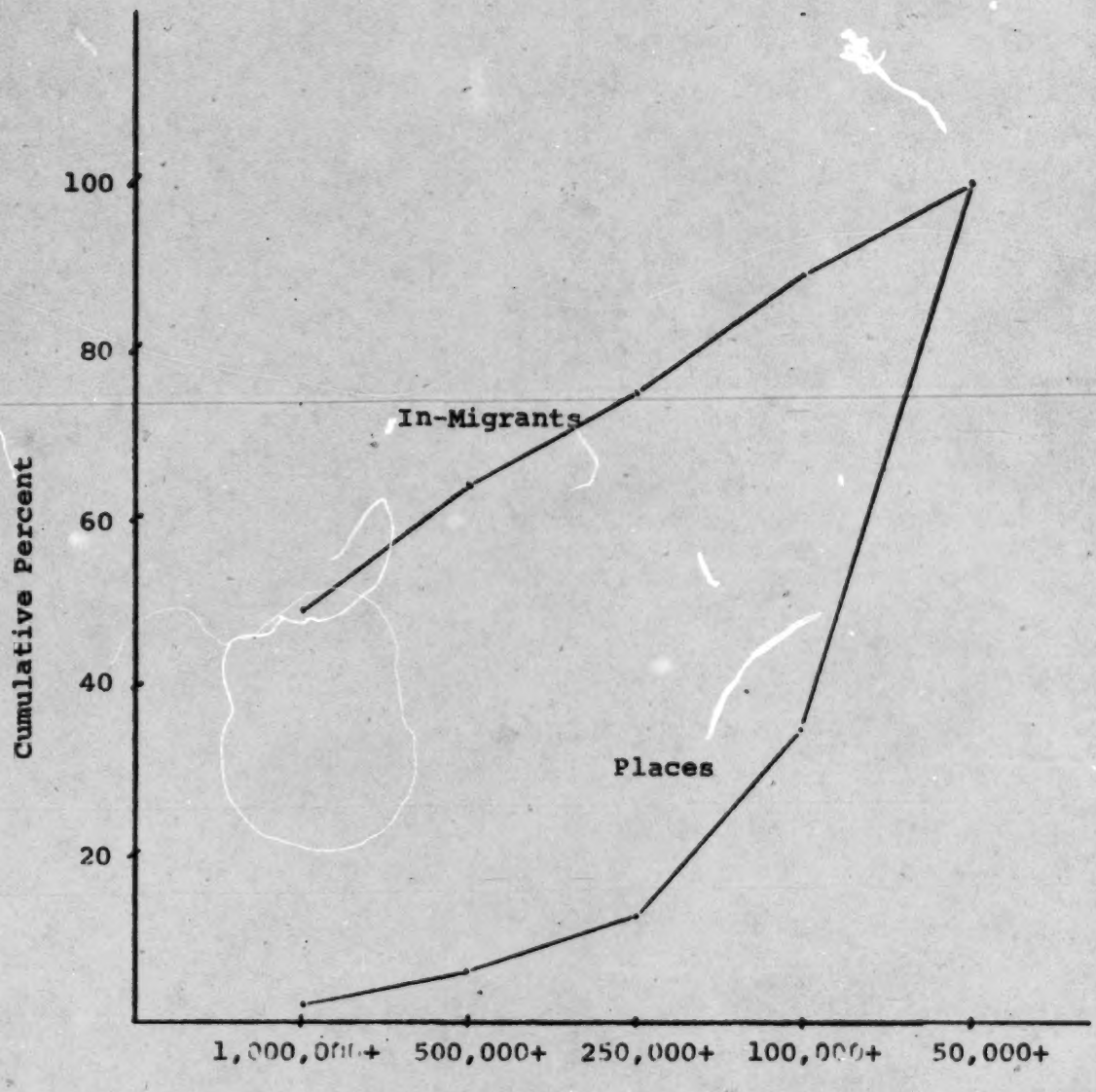

Figure 11: Cumulative Percent Frequency of Places and In-Migrants To Places. Non-South, 1970.

cities from the South. For purposes of simplicity, those migrants, defined as interstate are categorically separated from interregional migrants in this paper.

Again, from Figure 12, interregional migrants from the South made up the largest class of migrants to non-Southern cities (40 percent) the next largest is comprised of intrastate migrants (35 percent), and the smallest, interstate migrants (25 percent). Surprisingly, for the five largest cities in the non-South, the percentage of population which is migratory consists primarily of intrastate migrants with smaller proportions of Southerners and interstate migrants than cities of smaller size. Since there are no larger places in any of these five states and because there are virtually no rural blacks as well, the intrstate migrants must primarily be made up of out-migrants from smaller cities and urban places in the same state. For places of intermediate size the proportion of migrant population which is intrastate decreases dramatically and the percentage of migrants who are interstate and from the South increases.

For the smallest places, again, the percentage of intrastate migrants in the population increases but does not result in a migrant composition found to the extent in megalopolitan places. Their increase may well be due to the lack of visability of smaller places to interstate migrants from all parts of the country.

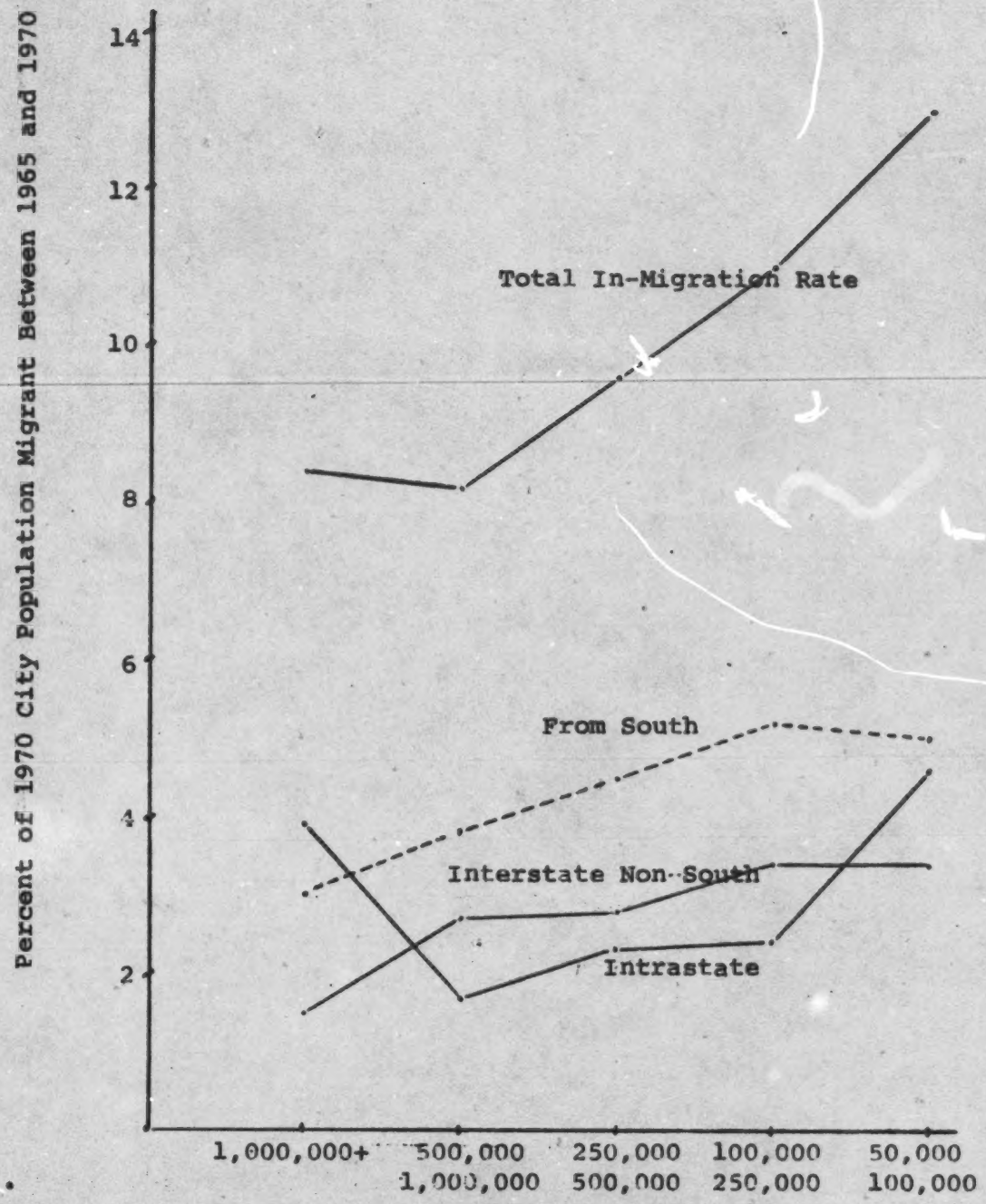

Figure 12: Percent of Black City Population by Migration Status in 1965-1970. Non-South.

As a result, in-migration composition of cities in the non-South have black populations consisting of the following migrant classes:

Percent of 1970 Population which was Migrant between 1965 and 1970

City Size	Intrastate	Interstate Non-South	South	Total
1,000,000 +	3.88	1.55	3.00	8.43
500,000 - 1,000,000	1.67	2.71	3.79	8.17
250,000 - 500,000	2.31	2.80	4.49	9.60
100,000 - 250,000	2.42	3.42	5.18	11.02
50,000 - 100,000	4.56	3.43	4 98	12.98
All Cities	3.23	2.24	3.70	9.16

The black population in the smallest places have greater proportions of migrants than do the populations in larger places and this is true for all types of migrants with two exceptions and these have been discussed.

The idea that large cities in the North and West have large percentages of recent migrants in their black population and that these are primarily from the South must be dismissed on the basis of our data. Smaller cities, containing fewer and smaller proportions of blacks actually have a larger percentage of migrants, both from the non-South and the South. The highest percentage of migrants of Southern origin are not found in the 12 cities outside the South

having more than one-half million inhabitants, but in 84 cities having between 100,000 and 500,000 citizens. As city size decreases to below 100,000 persons these cities either loose visibility for all interstate migrants or become more highly visible and more accessible to potential intrastate urban-directed migrants, possibly both.

Black Migration to Southern Cities

The volume of in-migration to Southern cities is large relative to the number of places in the South but not to the black population residing in cities. The South, in contrast to the remainder of the nation, has only one city that has passed the one-million mark in population, Houston. Because of this, we have arbitrarily included Houston with cities of 500,000 to 1,000,000 persons and the inclusion does not alter the statistics which follow appreciably.

In the South, only 36 percent of migrants to the region's cities go to places of 500,000 persons or more (Figure 13) in contrast to 64 percent of the non-South. As city size decreases, a smaller percentage of the total migration stream goes to smaller places as was found for the non-South. According to Figure 14, places of 250,000 or more make up 18 percent of the South's cities and receive 59 percent of the in-migrants. In the non-South 75 percent had gone to cities of this size yet these places constituted only 12 percent of all cities. Altogether, the curves

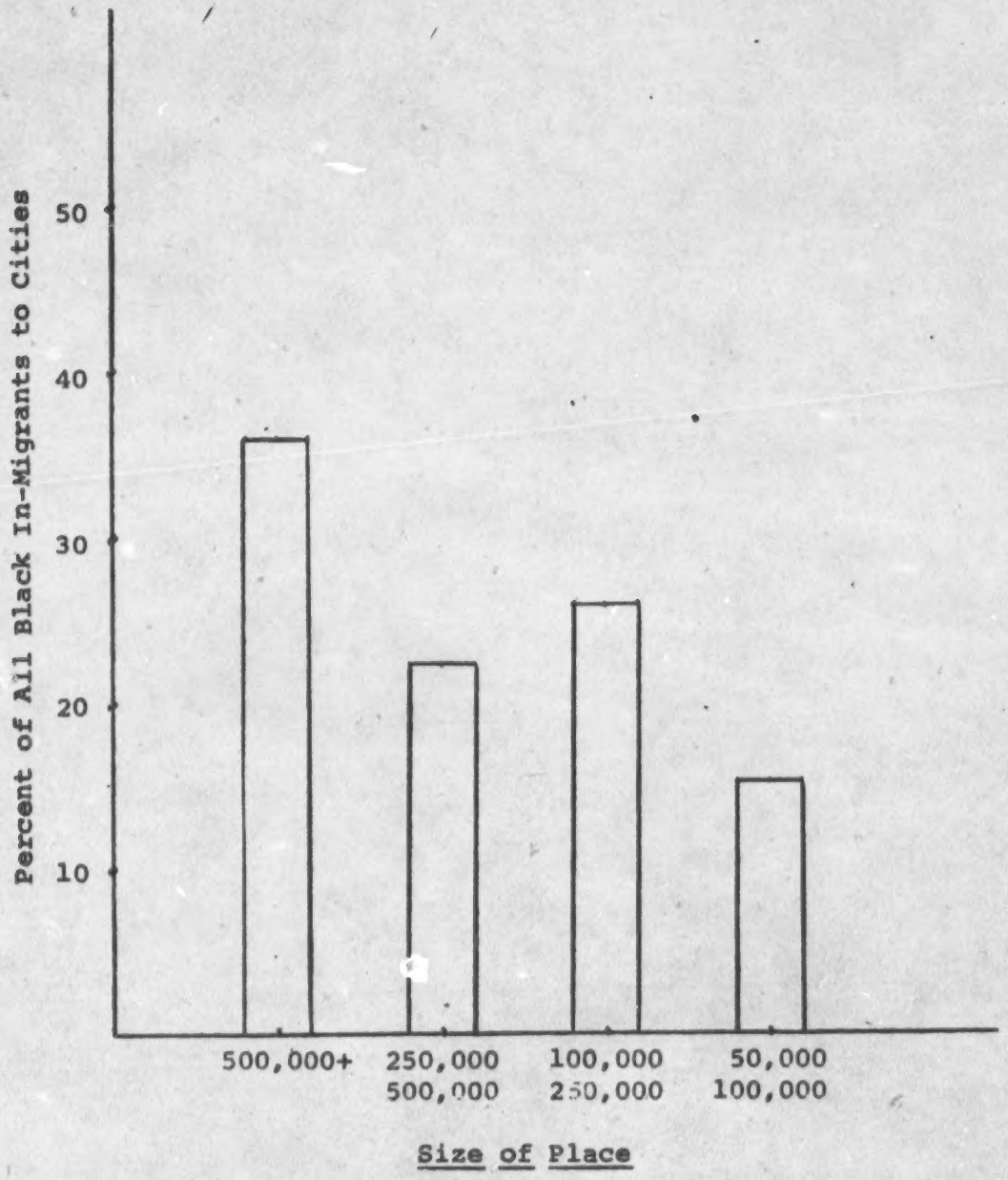

Figure 13: Black Migrants to Southern Cities by Size of City Destination, 1965-1970 (N = 356,913)

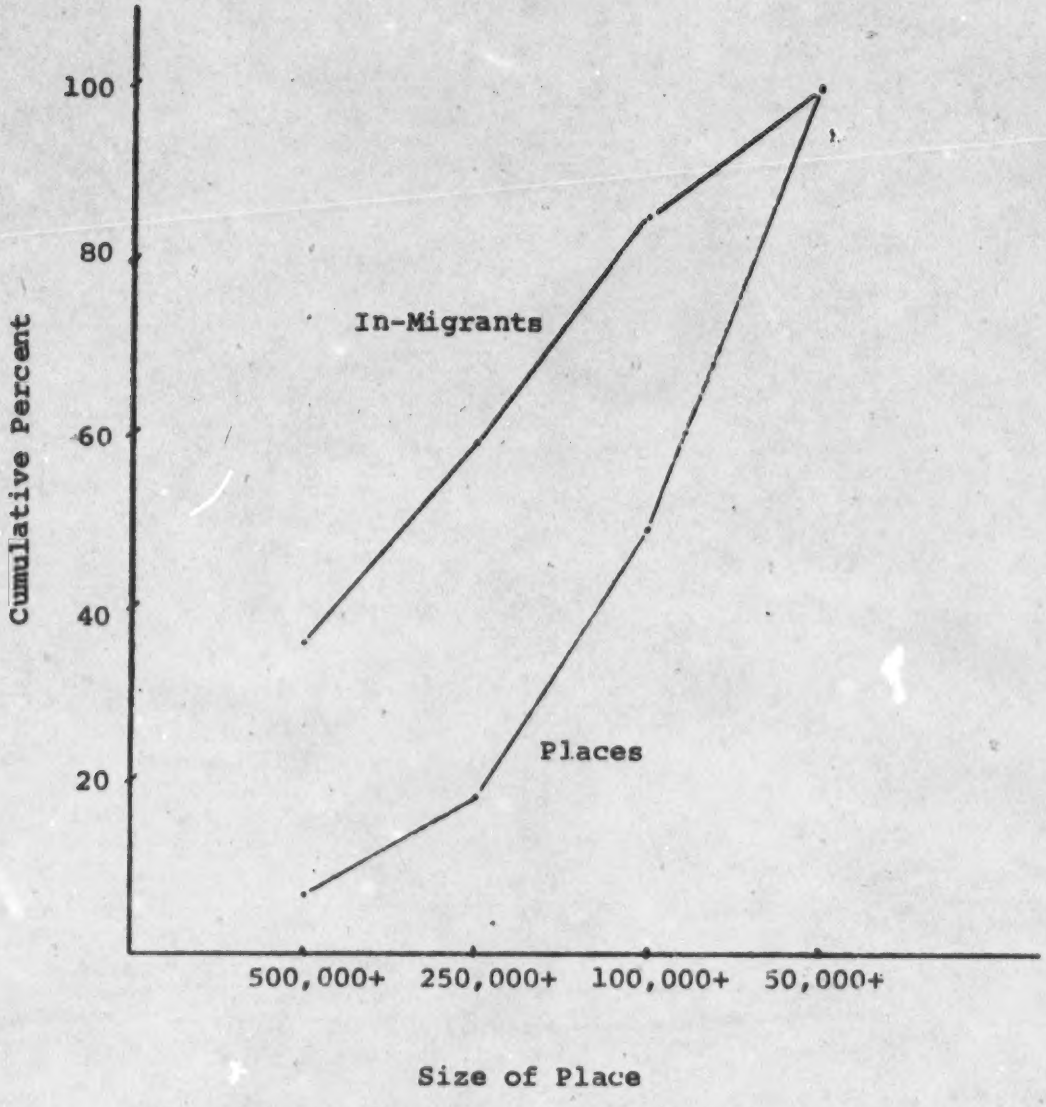

Figure 14: Cumulative Percent Frequency of Places and In-Migrants To Places. South, 1970.

of the two ogives are more divergent for the non-South than for the South. This means that more migrants converge in fewer places outside the region perhaps leading to heavy concentration in but few cities.

According to Figure 15, a smaller percentage of the regions' black city population five years old or older in 1970 was living elsewhere in 1965 than was true for the non-South, for every city size.

While Southerners made up a large proportion of in-migrants to non-Southern cities, migrants, from the non-South to the regions' cities constitute a minor portion of the total stream. Only 68 thousand blacks came from the North and West to the South's cities.

The largest stream to Southern cities were intrastate migrants and they made up a smaller proportion of the migrant population in cities of one-half million persons or more than in smaller places. Interstate migrants were the next largest class and of the migrant population in the largest cities almost one in two were of interstate origin. The percentage of migrants who were from outside the region was consistent with size of city.

The South's city population of blacks represents an interesting picture of migrant composition:

City Size	Intrastate	Interstate South	Non-South	Total
500,000 +	2.35	3.03	1.30	6.68
250,000 - 500,000	5.14	2.35	1.66	9.15
100,000 - 250,000	4.69	2.60	1.69	8.98
50,000 - 100,000	4.97	2.53	1.86	9.36
All Cities	3.80	2.72	1.54	8.06

The South's largest cities (500,000 or more inhabitants) contain proportionately more migrants of interstate (South only) origin than do smaller places, which contain increasingly greater proportions of blacks of intrastate origin. Interestingly enough, the percentage of black city population living outside the South in 1965 increased as city size decreased.

The Non-Southern Migrant to Cities

We have thus far centered on cities and the migrants they receive by size of place. Yet, another dimension of the migration process needs to be dwelt upon. This is the perspective of the city-directed migrant himself. Although we do not know whether the move was intrastate, interstate or interregional. In 1965 there were at least 487,093 blacks in the non-South who would change residence for one of the cities in our file by 1970 (Figure 16). Of these non-Southern migrants most were intrastate and fewest were interregional to cities in the South. Their migration was inevitably related to the distance of the move. For those who were intrastate movers, the five megalopolitan cities proved to be the most attractive. Only about one-third of them moved to places of smaller size. As

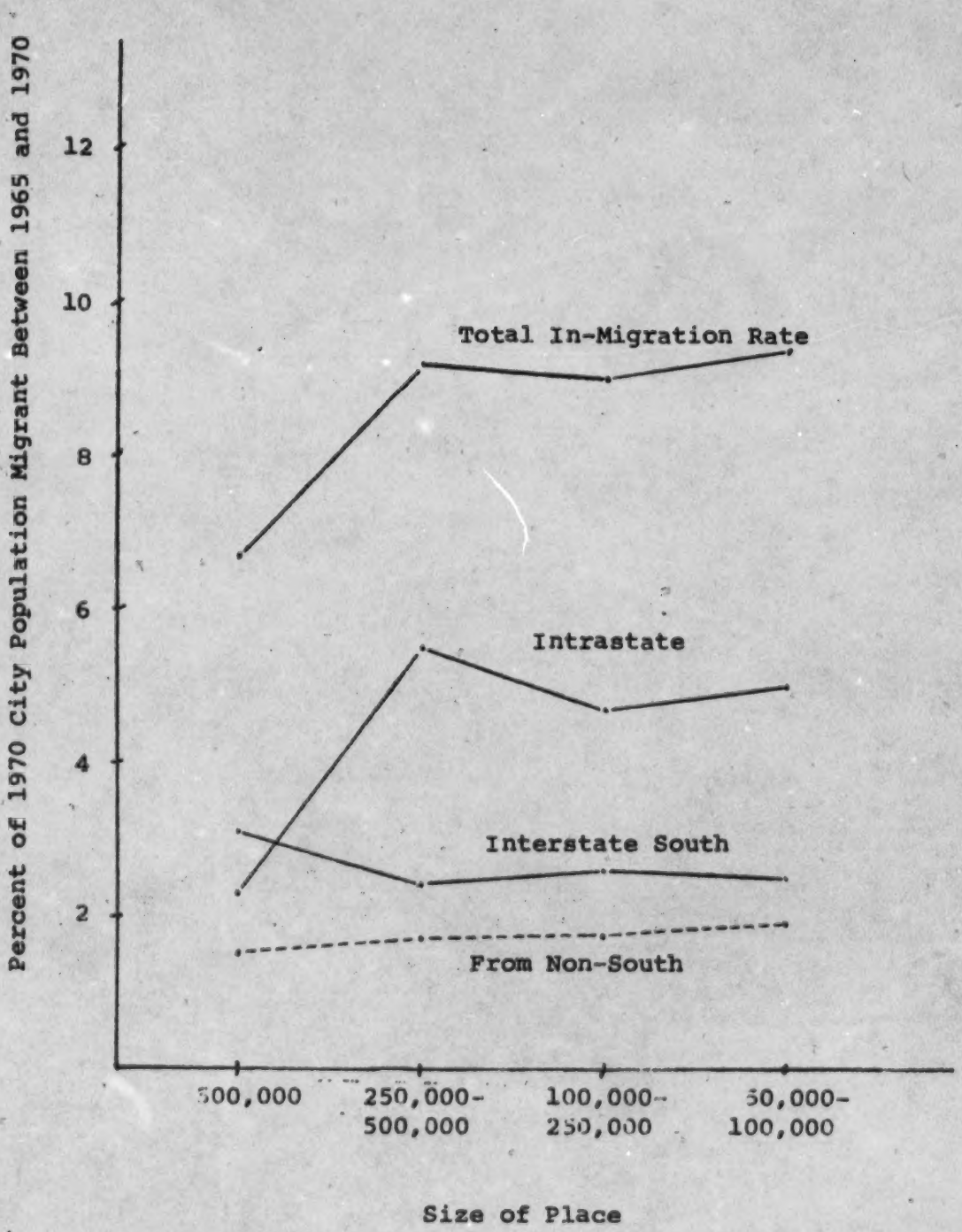

Figure 15: Percent of Black City Population by Migration Status in 1965-1970. South

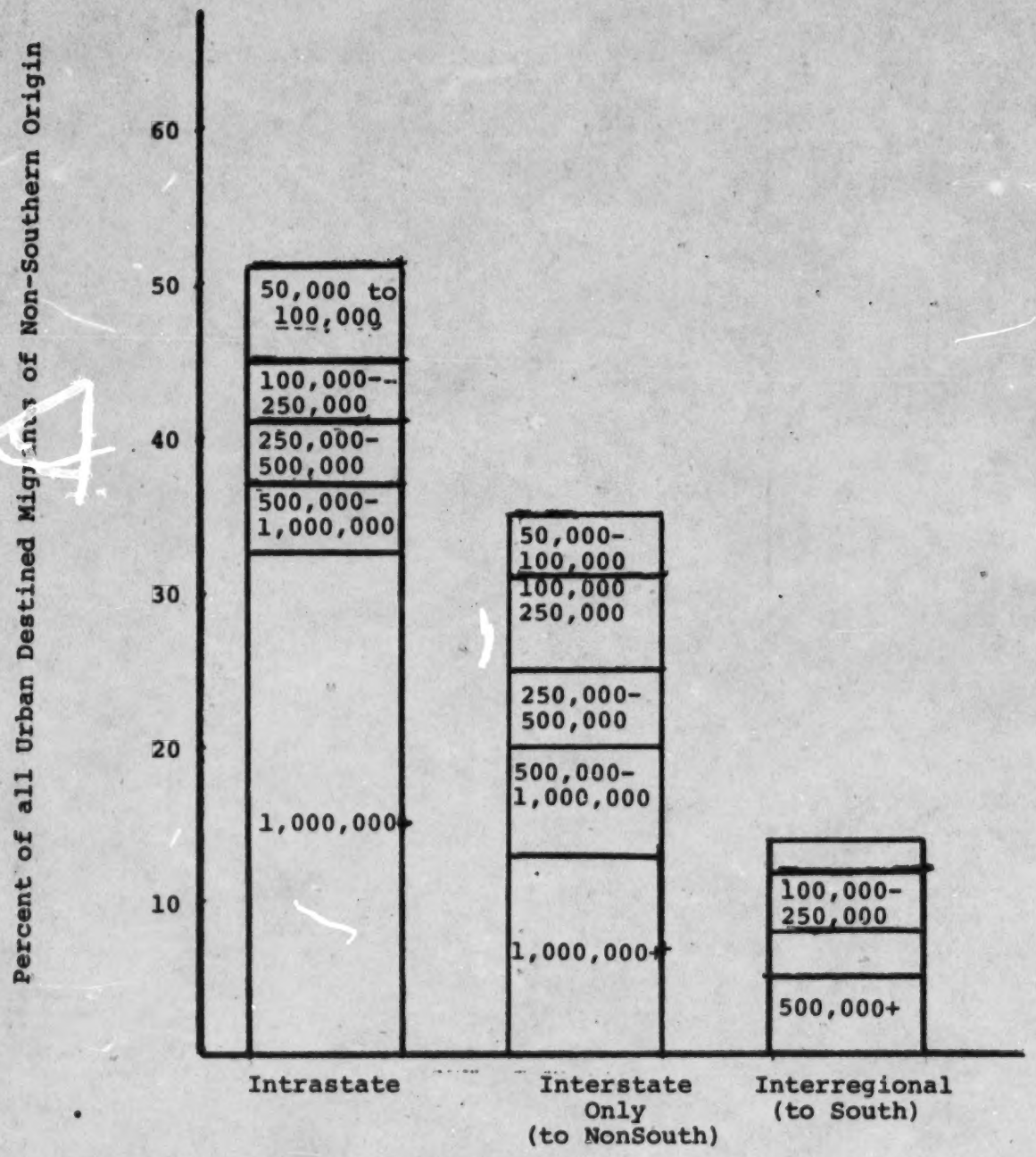

Figure 16: Non-Southern Urban Directed Migrants by Migration Status and Size of Destination City. 1965-1970.

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distance of move increases beyond state lines, however, the attractiveness of smaller cities increases until, if the migrant moves South, cities having more than 250,000 persons only attract about one-half of the non-Southern to Southern migrants. When combined with possibly higher out-migration of Southern blacks from smaller cities in the South, more smaller Southern cities have increasingly greater proportions of non-Southern migrants.

We know from many studies of migration that the process is not only selective for age, but for occupation and education as well. Long distance moves are expensive and the incentive to move must be great enough to surmount the many obstacles to moving. In the case of movement into the South the black has traditionally been faced with other obstacles, not encountered by the white, or to the same degree as the black moving from South to North or West, namely prejudice and discrimination in jobs and housing. Yet, as the South has undergone some facelifting in the recent past, many of these barriers may gradually be removed, especially for the higher socio-economic levels of blacks.

For the non-Southern black who moves intrastate, if we can assume the obstacles hypothesis concerning moving and the ability of occupation and income to aid in surmounting these obstacles, we could expect lower income and occupational status among them than

among interstate or interregional movers. To the group of intrastate movers, the largest metropolises appear to afford the greatest places for extending opportunities, whether these be educational, occupational, or both. This is less necessary, ipso facto, for the interregional mover. The city bound migrant of Southern origin presents a distinct contrast to migrants from other parts of the country (Figure 17). Those who move intrastate do not especially favor any size of city. Indeed, many are likely to consist of rural-to-urban migrants (rural in 1965) and will be composed mostly of the young.

The largest group of city-bound migrants of Southern origin leave the region altogether, and for obvious reasons. When they leave the South practically one-half go to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Los Angeles and a clear majority find their way to the 18 largest cities in the non-South. Although we cannot be sure of urban-rural origins, this stream in all liklihood consists of both, since losses from the rural South cannot be accounted for by in-migration to the Southern urban population from the rural areas. The magnitude of this stream furthermore explains the small interstate movement within the region. Fewer than two in five city bound Southern blacks cross state lines without leaving the region altogether. Of these 47,000 or 40 percent went to Baltimore, Washington, Dallas, or Houston, border cities at best, between 1965 and 1970. This undoubtedly accounts for the large percentage of interstate city migrants going to cities of 500,000 or more persons.

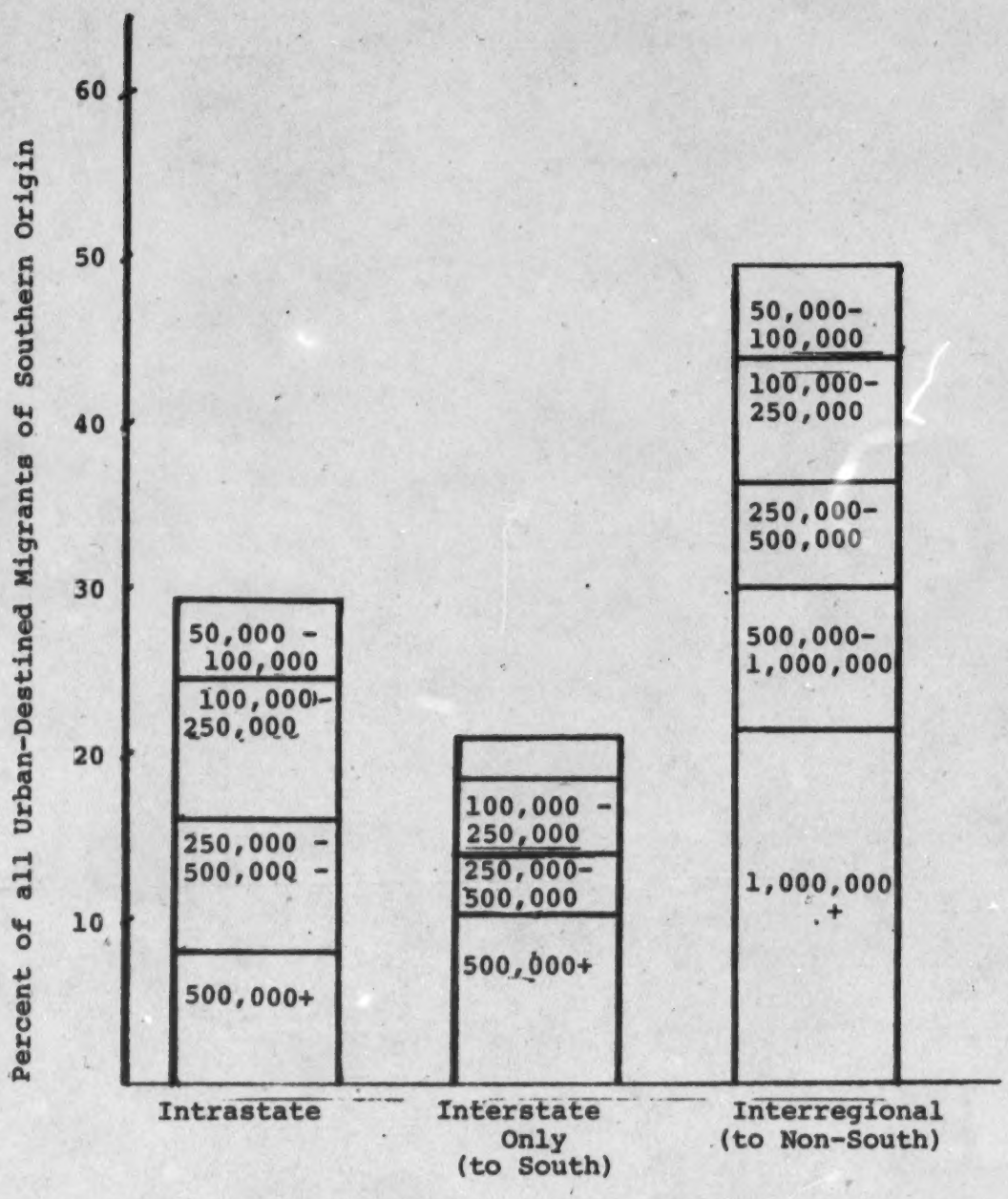

Figure 17: Urban Directed Migrants of Southern Origin by Migration Status and Size of City Destination. 1965-1970.

Conclusions

As the rural black population of the United States now constitutes only one in four of black Americans, the impact of rural-to-urban migration to Southern and non-Southern cities will be felt less sharply in the future than in the past. Those who are still found in rural areas, particularly in the South, constitute a rather unusual population, the aged and children. There are few young adults. Since it is the young who make up the largest class of migrants, a dearth of their numbers means a smaller stream of potential migrants to cities. Yet, because of a relatively large number of rural children still to be found in the South, we cannot anticipate a complete let-up in the rural-urban stream for as these children approach adulthood, they too, will leave. Once they have left, however, there will be few adults left in child bearing ages and the isolated rural population will all but disappear.

What this means is that future redistribution of the black American will be increasingly urban redistribution and more attention will need to be focused on urban to urban and intermetropolitan movement. Our data have suggested that among urban blacks, blacks more are concentrating in fewer cities - even in the North and West. Small cities, especially those having fewer than 100,000 persons, are becoming either whiter or blacker - more so than larger cities.

Thus, it may well be that the migratory exchange of blacks between cities will begin to assume definite clear cut patterns by the end of this century.

Finally, a word needs to be said regarding the counter stream of black movement to the South from the remainder of the country. Recent census releases have indicated that from 1970 to 1973 more blacks moved into than left the South.[14] Yet, as Larry Long of the Census Bureau has warned, the small sampling nature of the Current Population Surveys lends room to potentially large estimation errors.[15] What we can be sure of, however, is that the counter stream is in all liklihood urban directed and will continue to be so.

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2. See, for example, Beale, Calvin L. "Rural-Urban Migration of Blacks: Past and Future," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, LIII (May, 1971), 302; Bacon, Lloyd, "Migration, Poverty, and the Rural South," Social Forces, LI, (March, 1973), 348; and Ritchey, P. Neal, "Migration and Fertility: A Study of the Social Factors Involved," report issued by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (April, 1973).

3. The Atlanta University Publications, I,1, p. 7. Edited by W.E.B. DuBois.

4. The non-white population includes races other than Negro or black. For purposes of comparability we have had to use the Census non-white category which, in 1970 was 89 percent black.

5. Previous to 1950 only the population in incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more was defined as urban.

6. Tucker, Charles Jackson, "Changes in Age Composition of the Rural Black Population of the South: 1950 to 1970," Phylon, XXXV, 3 (September, 1974), 268.

7. Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) consist of counties or a group of counties containing at least one central city or twin cities of 50,000 persons or more and adjacent counties which are metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city.

8. Duncan, Otis Dudley and Albert J. Reiss, The Social Characteristics of Rural and Urban Communities: 1950, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956.

9. Op. cit.

10. Urbanized Areas essentially consist of a central city (or twin cities) having a population of 50,000 or more and the densly settled urban "fringe" outside the corporate limits of the city.

11. For a more detailed description of the file and methodology see Tucker, Charles Jackson, Urban Growth and Size of Place (unpublished doctoral dissertation), University of Georgia, 1973.

12. The coefficient of variation is a measure of variation within and between categories where means are different. It is basically an expression of the standard deviation in mean ($\bar{X}$) units. It is therefore a measure of relative variation.

13. Vance, Rupert B., All These People, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945.

14. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Mobility of the Population of the United States, March 1970 to March 1973," Current Population Reports. p. 20, No. 262, (March, 1974).

15. Reported in the Congressional Record-Senate June 20, 1974, S11103.